

GLOBAL MARKETING AND THE NEW HOLLYWOOD: THE MAKING OF THE 'ALWAYS COCA-COLA' CAMPAIGN

ABSTRACT

In 1992, the globally distributed soft drink maker Coca-Cola jettisoned its long-time advertising strategy of 'one sight, one sound, one sell'. Looking to tap into the American youth culture zeitgeist and shore up its market among youth worldwide, Coca-Cola hired a Hollywood talent agency, Creative Artists Agency, because it would provide an 'enormous resource to popular culture'. CAA shaped the initial 'Always Coca-Cola' campaign as a diverse array of images 'style-sorted' in order to attract and retain remote control-wielding audiences. Despite advertising industry concerns that a talent agency was encroaching on its turf, Coca-Cola continues to pursue the CAA-originated strategy of diverse, clever, high-concept advertising (now managed by former CAA staff members) in order to stay relevant to American youth culture and its international variants.

In an American television advertising campaign begun in 1993, computer-animated polar bears lumber across the ice and gather together to watch the aurora borealis show in the sky. One by one, they tip their heads back and drink their fizzy Coca-Colas with childlike joy. Not man-killing monsters, but slightly heavier than usual couch potatoes, these polar bears love to watch evanescent imagery and sip mass-produced sugary drinks just like the rest of us. Identical and fluffy white, the bears are square but cool, as ironic and media-reflexive as the animated Simpson family. These friendly polar bears, in addition to 23 other commercials aired in early 1993, were part of the 'Always Coca-Cola' advertising campaign that, according to one loyal Coca-Cola bottler, would help make 'Coke hip again' (Magiera, 1993a).

Coca-Cola is one of the few American products that has a truly *global* market; furthermore, recent political and economic changes throughout the former Eastern Bloc and Asia promise even greater expansion of Coca-Cola's markets. However, concerns about reaching diverse markets have prompted Coca-Cola to reconsider its heretofore successful 'one sight, one sound, one sell' global marketing strategy. In search of a new marketing strategy, Coca-Cola turned not to a new advertising agency but to Hollywood, centre of production of those other successful American exports, movies and television.

Coca-Cola did not rely on its advertising agency of 38 years, the venerable McCann-Erickson of Madison Avenue, to become hip again. Instead, Coca-Cola hired Creative Artists Agency (CAA), a Hollywood talent agency headed at the time by the 'shogun' of Hollywood himself, Michael Ovitz. Looking to edge Pepsi out of its slight lead in the all-important American youth market, Coca-Cola management wanted 'linkage to some of the most

creative people in the world', as then-president of Coca-Cola Donald Keough put it ('Coca-Cola Will Look Anywhere', 1993). Coca-Cola's then-vice president of global marketing, Peter Sealey, maintained that Ovitz's CAA provided Coke with an 'enormous resource to popular culture' because CAA represented performers and makers of film, television and popular music. Sealey characterised the agency as 'the linchpin of an entire creative process', precipitating a debate within the advertising industry as to the best sources of creative marketing ('Coke-CAA Deal', 1991). CAA's access to this wellspring of creativity in Hollywood, then, was seen to provide Coca-Cola with its best chance for anticipating and responding to global youth cultural trends.

Coca-Cola's hiring of CAA in 1992 to oversee its marketing strategy was the result of years of lobbying by Michael Ovitz and a network of interrelationships between Coca-Cola and Hollywood. Around the time Coca-Cola purchased Columbia pictures in 1982, Ovitz cultivated a relationship with Coca-Cola president Donald Keough (Grover, 1993). Ovitz's involvement in Sony's subsequent purchase of Columbia in 1989 (at a profit to Coca-Cola of at least US\$800 million) certainly helped cement those relationships (Huey, 1993).¹ Furthermore, while Coca-Cola owned Columbia Pictures, attempts were made to create advertising 'synergy' between Coke and Columbia movies (for example, *Ghostbusters* logos appeared on cans of Coke). To Columbia's advantage, Coca-Cola's bulk buying of television advertising time at low prices provided opportunities for lower-cost television commercials for Columbia films (Litwak, 1986: 242).

While Coca-Cola's Hollywood connections help to explain its involvement with CAA personnel, why did Ovitz, a talent agent, pursue Coca-Cola as a marketing client? 'The Coca-Cola Company is a communicator's dream,' Ovitz has said. 'It is, and has been for decades, the leader in global consumer communications.' (Kerr, 1991) As an ambitious image broker of American culture himself, Ovitz may have viewed Coca-Cola as the one consumer product having as much cachet overseas as Hollywood's film and television products.

As middlemen in the chimerical industry of entertainment, talent agents are often regarded as a necessary evil by both the purchasers and providers of talent. Despite being derided as 'flesh peddlers' and 'ten percenters', talent agents have emerged as 'de facto producers' in Hollywood (Rodman, 1990). Powerful talent agents like Ovitz shape major studio-produced films by presenting studio executives with 'packages' of talent, including screenwriter, director and acting talent. CAA's efforts to package film projects was scarcely new to the industry. Predecessor talent agencies in the studio era used similar tactics of packaging, talent raiding and service diversification in order to corner the market on talent and to maximise the value of their clients.

CAA under Ovitz represented many of the most desirable and valuable actors, writers, musical performers and directors in Hollywood.² CAA also diversified its activities beyond talent brokering. While at CAA, Ovitz advised Nike on its promotional strategies, consulted with Microsoft and AT&T on developing interactive and on-line entertainment programming, and acted as investment banker to Credit Lyonnais (then owner of MGM's assets). As a consultant or broker in the Sony purchase of Columbia and Matsushita's purchase of MCA, Ovitz claimed to have brought more investment capital into Hollywood than anyone else (Castro, 1993). By positioning CAA at the nexus of global entertainment dealmaking, Ovitz sought to expand the boundaries of his talent brokering. Cultivating Coca-Cola's global advertising account could be seen as another strategy to broaden his impact on the global entertainment system.

Originally marketed as a temperance drink during the 1880s revivalism in the South, Coca-Cola dropped cocaine from its secret recipe by 1903. Beginning in the 1920s, under the leadership of Robert Woodruff, Coca-Cola was distributed internationally by franchisees in Europe and Latin America (Allen, 1994). During World War II, Coca-Cola was distributed to American troops overseas with the cooperation of the War Department, ostensibly to raise morale (Oliver, 1986: 20). Advertised as being 'as American as Independence Day', Coca-Cola encouraged a strong association of its soft drink with Americanism, paving the way for its expansion into international markets (Louis and Yazijian, 1980: 86, 102). During the Cold War, Coca-Cola's presence as an American icon in the Second and Third Worlds exposed it to accusations of 'Coca-Colonialism' (Louis and Yazijian, 1980: 77). Like McDonalds and denim jeans, Coca-Cola became indelibly associated with the spread of American pop culture worldwide, for good and for ill.

In the 1960s, Coke's longtime ad man, Bill Backer, went so far as to claim (with typical ad man hyperbole) that: 'The product of the Coca-Cola Company is not Coca-Cola — that makes itself. The product of the Coca-Cola Company is advertising.' (Louis and Yazijian, 1980: 148) There is a grain of truth in that assertion when one considers that the key to Coca-Cola's expansion has been its franchising operations. Coca-Cola manufactures cola syrup, which it sells to bottlers with a Coke franchise, who add sugar and water and then bottle and distribute the soft drink. In other words, the bulk of Coca-Cola production and distribution is done by others who have invested and risked their own capital in the venture. In this way, Coca-Cola is able to expand into new markets with little or no capital outlay itself. Coke's advertising is designed to appeal to and maintain the loyalty of franchisee bottlers, who also subsidise the advertising through franchise contracts. So in one sense, advertising *is* Coca-Cola's significant product, since the bottlers perform the bulk of the mixing, bottling and distribution tasks.

Coca-Cola's advertising strategy as executed by the US ad agency McCann-Erickson since 1955 had been predicated on the principle of 'one sight, one sound, one sell'. Each campaign would display a unified theme and slogan (such as 'The pause that refreshes', 'Things go better with Coke', 'It's the real thing', 'Coke is it') — no matter who or where the target market was. Its global campaigns emphasised wholesome, warmhearted and family-oriented imagery. Coca-Cola's advertising was devoted to associative images of fun and pleasure rather than to informational claims about its quality or price. As one former Coca-Cola marketer has pointed out, 'Nobody is buying Coca-Cola because it's brown sugar water. They're buying an image, a lifestyle and an attitude.' (Zbar, 1997: 28)

Coca-Cola's monolithic advertising strategy hewed closely to Harvard business professor Theodore Levitt's thesis of the inevitability of the 'globalisation of markets' (1983: 92). According to Levitt, corporations that continue to spend precious resources on tailoring their products and marketing plans to national or regional markets will be less able to compete effectively against a competitor offering lower priced goods or services of the same quality through a global marketing plan. The advantages of a global marketing campaign would include reduction of advertising production costs, unified brand image and centralised coordination of marketing strategies.

Levitt's call for global advertising was most applicable to standardised, low-cost consumer products such as Coca-Cola. However, even Coca-Cola was obliged to adapt its strategy so that its name would not be read as 'Bite the wax tadpole' in Chinese (Rutigliano, 1986: 28). Many argued that regionally specific and culturally sensitive advertising remained important to international advertising strategies (Douglas and Wind, 1987). Increasingly, Levitt's concept of standardised global marketing has lost favour. The unassailable domination of brands like Coca-Cola is no longer taken for granted by many marketers. Thus, as the head of US advertising agency Fallon McElligot asserted in reference to the rise and fall of global advertising titans such as Saatchi & Saatchi, 'America's biggest advertisers are realizing the only comfort for their brands in tough times is a huge idea, not a huge agency.' (Elliot, 1993)

Although Coca-Cola still far outsells its chief rival, Pepsi-Cola, worldwide, the gradual decline of the cola market in the United States has intensified its competition with Pepsi over domestic market share (McCarthy, 1993). Eighty per cent of its earnings derive from markets outside the United States; Coca-Cola's top four markets outside the United States are Mexico, Japan, Germany and Brazil (Huey, 1993). Coca-Cola also anticipates vast new markets among the billions of people in China, India and the former Eastern Bloc — areas that constitute 'New Worlds of Opportunity' for selling Coca-

Cola products (*Coca-Cola Annual Report*, 1992). Australian Coca-Cola bottler CC Amatil has become the second largest bottler worldwide, recently expanding into Eastern Europe and Indonesia (Jackson, 1995).³

But Pepsi's 1980s and 1990s ad campaigns featuring musical and sports celebrities like Michael Jackson, Ray Charles and Shaquille O'Neal helped it gain market share among a very desirable demographic for soft drink marketers, American youth. Operating under the assumption that brand loyalties are implanted in consumers at a tender age, Coca-Cola became concerned that a significant portion of its keystone market, American youth, may be won by Pepsi for life, with potential global consequences. If American youth set the standards for American popular culture, the erosion of Coca-Cola as a standard-bearer for American pop culture worldwide would be possible.⁴ This fear rests on an assumption about the basic similarities of youth markets worldwide. As one Coca-Cola marketer has pointed out: 'We found that there are some cultural differences in different countries, but there is a global similarity to kids today.' (Gleason, 1996) At the time Coca-Cola hired CAA to provide 'macrovision' (Fahey and Lafayette, 1991), then-Coca-Cola marketing director Peter Sealey announced: 'American culture broadly defined — music, film, fashion and food — has become the culture worldwide. We are in a global village and CAA represents the single greatest source in understanding that culture.' (Kerr, 1991) Sealey also claimed in hyperbolic fashion that: 'Michael Ovitz and his associates are simply the linchpin of an entire creative process — the writers, the directors, the musicians, the movie studios, the creative aspects of television production. We're forming a partnership to tap that enormous resource to popular culture.' (Fahey and Lafayette, 1991)

This claim disturbed some members of the advertising industry, who viewed Coca-Cola's employment of CAA as a direct attack on their putative expertise in consumer desires and their 'creative' abilities to tap those desires for selling purposes. Unlike media buying, the service for which most ad agencies receive their commissions, 'creativity' is the ineffable quality that many ad agencies consider to be their most valuable asset. Ad agency employees who write, illustrate and conceptualise advertisements are called 'creatives' within the trade. Although ad agencies routinely compete for clients in invited contests by pitching their creative ideas for ad campaigns, Coca-Cola had gone outside Madison Avenue altogether in this contest and selected an outsider. As one ad man worried: 'The creative is the one thing that agencies have been able to keep hold over. Now [Coca-Cola] is saying that there are other places we can go for creative ideas.' (Busch, 1991) Not only was Coca-Cola going elsewhere, its action implied that the advertising industry could not supply it with enough 'creativity' to increase Coke's market share.

Distinguishing themselves from Hollywood types, ad makers believe that they better understand the principles of how to integrate the selling and creative elements of their work. Advertising creativity should sell products and it must, according to famous ad creative George Lois, 'add up' to something: 'Style goes away, baby, but a good idea is forever.' (Moerk and Brennan, 1993) Thus, before CAA produced any advertisements for Coca-Cola, some ad makers were predicting that CAA would not be able to produce a 'consistent long-term advertising package' ('Coke Bringing Talent Agency', 1992), since the bulk of Hollywood-style marketing has — until recently — been short term with a 'very short shelf life' ('Get Caught', 1986). Until the recent massive expansion of ancillary markets like video cassettes, the marketing of Hollywood films has been considered by ad makers to be relatively primitive. As one ad man noted: 'Years ago, Hollywood went to the advertising world to bring in executives like Arthur Cohen [to Paramount] and Bob Levin [to Disney] to revitalise their marketing programs. Now, in a way, the reverse is happening: corporate America is coming to Hollywood.' (Moerk and Brennan, 1993)

George Lois, a luminary of advertising's 'Creative Revolution' of the 1960s, has defended ad makers' creative abilities: 'An advertising mind is different from those in the movie world. We're weirder, and have street smarts.' Lois's notion of creativity is predicated on a romantic individualism — the creative ad man as renegade bohemian who supplies creativity to the 'suits'. Consequently, 'Hollywood types' inspire 'fear and loathing' in some ad makers for being neither 'creative' nor 'cost-conscious' (as a 'suit' or account executive should be) but instead being 'prima donnas' ('Coke Bringing Talent Agency', 1992). Other ad makers have complained that Hollywood movies have routinely typecast the adman as 'a bubbling neurotic' (for instance, *Crazy People*) and the advertising industry as a stand-in for greedy capitalism (as in *How to Get Ahead in Advertising*) ('Hollywood and Malign', 1990). At the root of this apparent antagonism between Hollywood types and advertising makers is a perceived shared struggle over the creative process. As one adman describes it:

[A] big reason behind Hollywood's advertising-bashing is that the writers and directors see advertising as a somewhat parallel situation to their own. They, too, are creative people trying to sell their ideas to so-called 'suits', or straight executives. And like us, they constantly pine about what they could accomplish if they only didn't have to labor for an unsophisticated mass audience. ('Hollywood and Malign', 1990)

Talent agencies and advertising agencies both engage in brokering activities; they package and sell proposals for image products to clients with the capital to produce and disseminate them. The success of both kinds of agencies lies in their ability to sell themselves to those clients by claiming to have the

ideas, properties or talents that will most likely prove profitable to clients. Although both kinds of agency will claim that their ultimate goal is to serve the interests of consumers or audiences, their primary constituency comprises those who will fund the production of the imagery — corporate advertisers and studio investors.

Despite these commonalities of goals and rationales, a discourse of historical antagonisms between Hollywood and advertising continues. The economic and institutional integration of commercial cultural spheres is underplayed rhetorically in order to maintain territories of professional or artistic expertise. These mythical antagonisms have been articulated in many ways. The Hollywood culture of talent agents and studio executives is contrasted with the Madison Avenue culture of advertising men: Armani suits versus Brooks Brothers. The aura of artistry, authenticity and auteurism is more often perceived to exist in the film industry than in the advertising industry. On the other hand, ad makers uphold the popular appeal and social impact of widely seen and heard advertising campaigns over the narrower cultural influence of movies with their relatively smaller audiences. This last contention informs the perspective of many in the ad industry that Ovitz, among others in Hollywood, decided to become involved in advertising and global marketing in order to create a more truly global impact on popular mass-mediated culture.

The CAA 'Always Coca-Cola' television advertising campaign that began in February 1993 did not include star actors from CAA's client list, but it did exhibit a number of new strategies. First, the message was 'tailored' to the medium of television. Second, 'a diverse array of executions' were offered to appeal to diverse demographics (Miles, 1993). As chief CAA creative and former Chiat/Day ad man Len Fink explained: 'You have 50-year-olds who like Guns 'n' Roses; you have two generations of women who are having babies at the same time. You can't speak to so many different audiences with the same voice. We took the same message and style-sorted it.' (Stabiner, 1993) Third, the campaign emphasised entertainment because, as Sealey explained, 'People don't have to watch commercials anymore.' In an era of remote-control wielding television viewers, 'We need to make them want to watch our advertising' (Horovitz and Zonana, 1993). Retiring president Keough also noted that, with the erosion of mass audiences for network programming, 'We can no longer buy tonnage ... audiences are being carved up into smaller channels of communication ... You start asking yourself: What is media?' ('Coca-Cola Will Look Anywhere', 1993) Although audiences themselves have not somehow become more diverse recently, cable television, video cassettes and remote controls have shaped newly *mobile* audiences. Such mobility requires new advertising strategies.

Although CAA did not itself produce any of the commercials, being legally barred from production as a talent agency, the advertising concepts were

generated by CAA, which then hired production companies as subcontractors. In addition to the aforementioned 'Polar Bears' commercial, the CAA-supervised commercials included Richard (*Lethal Weapon*) Donner's 'Spaceship', about aliens in a spaceship, and 'Deprogrammer', about a customer at a soda fountain who resists all efforts to change his order for a Coke. Rob (*A Few Good Men*) Reiner directed a sentimental 60-second spot named 'Real Things Last', about a couple's 50 years of marriage to the tune of the Beatles song 'When I'm 64'. These mini-narratives with noticeable visual styles may have been intended as exemplars of Hollywood filmic art, yet many of the techniques employed, such as rapid editing, hand-held cameras and rhythmic pacing, were familiar music video strategies, prevalent in much of Madison Avenue's 'creative' advertising as well.

The music video style was also evident in 'Ice Pick', which showed hiphop-style dancers bashing on hunks of ice and steel barrels to industrial rhythms, and in another spot featuring a young black man 'scratching' music by making sounds with his mouth. A tongue-in-cheek vignette titled 'Digging Dog' refers reflexively to its commercial-ness even as it mocks it — a common tactic in youth-oriented television programming that seeks to appeal to its audience's self-aware cynicism.

Despite the ad industry's assessment of the CAA efforts as scattershot and underconceptualised (Garfield, 1993), the computer-animated 'Polar Bears' spot generated a buzz. CAA briefly shopped it around to studios in the hope it could be sold as a television series and was able to make deals for polar bear toys, cups, and contests (Sharkey and Grimm, 1993; Grimm, 1993). 'Polar Bears' remained in rotation longer than many of the other CAA commercials because some survey research claimed that a high percentage of viewers recalled it, especially youth (Fawcett, 1993). The polar bears became so identified with Coca-Cola's new advertising campaign that sequel polar bear commercials appeared. Unlike other soft drink spokesmen like Michael Jackson, whose private lives may detract from marketers' aims, the polar bears' cuddly coolness signifies wholesome, family, Coke-drinking fun.

The initial results of the 1993 'Always Coca-Cola' campaign were mixed for Coca-Cola and for CAA. Surveys reported that consumers' high rate of recall of the campaign did not include the desired effect of persuading consumers to buy Coca-Cola. Pepsi's commercials featuring basketball star Shaquille O'Neal were rated at higher recall levels than Coca-Cola's (Magiera, 1993b). Among reports that the US\$6 million budget for the Coke campaign had swollen to US\$10 or \$12 million, Peter Sealey was fired in July 1993 by Keough's successor, Douglas Ivester, and replaced by former Diet Coke marketer Sergio Zyman (Magiera and Wells, 1993). At the same time that Sealey was fired, Coca-Cola announced the renewal of CAA's contract,

ordering 30 more commercials for the 1994 campaign, including an ice-skating polar bears spot to air during the Christmas season of 1993. Coca-Cola kept to its strategy of pursuing multiple campaigns and maintained the polar bear icons as well. Although Coca-Cola ran as many as 20 different commercials concurrently, at the end of 1994 the polar bear campaign was ranked as the most popular television commercials of the year (Goldman, 1995). In 1997 the polar bears were broadcast in international markets such as Hungary — a key market in the former Eastern Bloc.

After Ovitz left CAA in 1995 to join the Disney Company as second in command to Michael Eisner, several staff members followed him to Disney in order to continue working on the Coca-Cola account. Much was predicted concerning the potential synergy of Disney and Coca-Cola — both giants of the marketing of American mass culture worldwide. However, when Ovitz resigned from Disney in 1996, the former CAA staff were reconfigured into Coca-Cola's in-house agency named Edge Creative.⁵ Coca-Cola has since hired nearly 20 different advertising agencies including 'boutiques' well known for creativity such as Wieden & Kennedy and Fallon McElligot. By drawing on multiple advertising agencies, marketing director Zyman also seeks to limit the 'creative resources ... available to his rivals' (Gleason and Sloan, 1997). Coca-Cola's growing global advertising budget of \$500 million a year apparently stimulated an increase in international unit sales, reaching 6.8 billion cases in 1994 (Elliot, 1995).

Having completely repudiated its 'one sight, one sound, one sell' strategy, Coca-Cola has sought to represent its product — essentially the same as other colas — with an eclectic collection of images and concepts. However, its attempt to diversify its brand imagery does not indicate that Coca-Cola has gone postmodern, but that new corporate strategies emphasise mobility and multiple points of attack on increasingly skeptical audiences. As one ad maker explained the difficulties of selling to the 'post-boomer' generation: 'You've got to work hard to get in under the radar with these people. As soon as they think you're trying to sell them something, they turn off and walk away.' (Donaton, 1993)

Coca-Cola's status as the quintessential American product precludes other advertisers from developing necessarily similar marketing strategies. However, this case may exemplify certain trends in commercial cultural production. First, as both Coca-Cola and the entertainment industry in Hollywood continue to derive a greater proportion of their revenues from international (rather than domestic) markets, the effort to tap into, reflect and help shape the Americanised yet international youth culture worldwide becomes increasingly important for success and profits. Strategies for reaching youth include advertising that utilises irony and media reflexivity in order to 'get under the radar'. Second, the high profiles of behind-the-scenes figures

such as Michael Ovitz epitomise the rise of certain assumptions about the workings of commercial cultural production: that the gatekeepers, brokers and promoters of culture are becoming as important — if not more important — than the actual cultural producers and products (Williams, 1993). In other words, the executive vision of media moguls and Hollywood power brokers has been deemed essential (at least by those investing the capital) to successful realisation of American popular and mass-mediated culture.

Maintaining Coke's relevance to the American youth culture zeitgeist is the keystone of the 'Always Coca-Cola' campaign. Coca-Cola's marketers seem to believe this could have global repercussions for how Coke is perceived as the standard bearer of Americanism. In the 'Always Coca-Cola' campaign, this meant tapping into the nexus of the Hollywood entertainment power complex by hiring Ovitz and his CAA cohorts, the new 'de facto producers' of Hollywood. Despite the advertising industry's concerns regarding Hollywood's incursion on to its 'creativity' turf, Coca-Cola's leaders plan to buy creativity wherever they find it. The 'Polar Bears' appearance in markets such as Hungary indicate Coca-Cola's continuing commitment to promoting American youth culture, linking it inextricably to the expansion of Coca-Cola's international markets.

NOTES

- 1 During the time Coca-Cola owned Columbia, Peter Sealey was transferred from Coca-Cola to Columbia to market films, where he hired Shelly Hochron. Hochron, whose efforts to market *Stand By Me* (1986) earned her a place as Sealey's 'third daughter', was hired by Ovitz to spearhead CAA's Coca-Cola account (Zinn, 1993).
- 2 At its peak, CAA's clients included directors Steven Spielberg, Martin Scorsese, Barry Levinson and Sydney Pollack, and performers Kevin Costner, Warren Beatty, Dustin Hoffman, Robert De Niro, Tom Cruise, Madonna, Sylvester Stallone, Barbra Streisand, Robert Redford, Jane Fonda, David Letterman, Tom Hanks, Demi Moore, Eddie Murphy and Michael Jackson.
- 3 As former Coca-Cola president Keough said: 'When I think of Indonesia, a country on the Equator, with 180 million people, a median age of eighteen, and a Moslem ban on alcohol, I feel I know what heaven looks like.' (Allen, 1994: 420)
- 4 For an interesting discussion on how marketers seek out cutting-edge youth culture, see Gladwell (1997).
- 5 Edge Creative is staffed by Len Fink, Shelly Hochron and Jack Harrower. As of this writing, Ovitz's stature as king of Hollywood has been severely diminished after his sudden ejection from the Disney kingdom (Weinraub, 1996).

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